3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

clan's claim to the east side. However, the Tanggu clan enforces its claim by actual cultivation of crops on the island and by control of the fishing and turtle breeding there. But since such a claim is substantiated not only by tenure but also through the clan genealogies there was a constant dispute among nobles of Tanggu and Tokalau regarding their genealogies and the relative merits of the two claims.

The effect of the government policy concerning land ownership has been far-reaching. Native retention of ancestral lands has cemented the tie between hereditary social groups and the soil. A man cultivates the garden plot of his ancestors and frequently even builds his house upon the same house site. In spite of the changes taking place in the culture the link with the natural environment has not been broken. This has not only physical significance in that the natural resources upon which the old culture was built are still available, but also psychic significance in that a social group is still in close contact with its sacred places, sacred animals, and plants. The importance of this condition can hardly be over-emphasized. As long as the physical setting is retained there is a possibility of revitalizing a culture so that a satisfactory balance may be re-established in spite of its changing content. Evidence of new adjustment to the old environment is seen in the increase of the population in recent years—a sign of healthy and socially adjusted communal life which will be discussed in Chapter VI.

As a result of the land policy the native does not suffer from the modern western economic system. He is economically independent and does not need to compete with Europeans or Indians[32] in the struggle for existence. No matter how he chooses to earn his living he can always return to his own village and cultivate his ancestral lands. Hence there is no native unemployment or rehabilitation problem in Fiji.

[32] Since 1879, laborers have been imported into Fiji from India, and in 1936 the total Indian population in Fiji was 85,002. There are, however, no Indians in southern Lau.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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464 [484] [574] As a matter of fact the natives do not tend to congregate in large numbers in commercial centers such as Suva and Levuka. They like to travel about the Fiji group and visit their relatives. Many of the young men leave their villages on labor contracts on copra plantations in Taveuni or other parts of Fiji for several years, but in time nearly all of them return to their own villages to settle and cultivate their lands. The majority of Fijians are peasant farmers who possess their own land, and cultivate only enough to provide for their food and a small surplus of copra or bananas to exchange for trade articles such as cloth, soap, tobacco, and kerosene which have become necessities. They can, through their own efforts, raise enough produce to cover their personal needs and taxes, usually about £2 a year, and practically nowhere is it necessary for a native to hire himself out by contract. When this is done it is usually to cover expenses which the community has incurred for the sake of increasing its social prestige or improving its resources —such as building a cutter or new water supply. In fact, in at least 50 per cent of the villages visited in Lau, practically all the young men between the ages of eighteen and thirty were away for a year on labor contracts, earning money to pay a debt incurred by the district. A few young men from southern Lau are employed as sailors aboard trade or government cutters. Their families live either in their home villages or in Suva.

461 178 Protection of the natives against competition with other racial groups in the modern economic system has its dangers as well as its advantages. Just as the elimination of warfare has tended to sap vitality from the culture, so also shielding the people from the economic struggle, which would otherwise destroy them, has tended to weaken them. The natives are inclined to become lazy and self-pitying. In the Lau islands, for instance, there is a definite distaste for work on the land, especially among the nobles. This is due partly to a traditional prejudice, and partly also to the very real difficulties of

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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439 neglected, and the natives began to buy food from the store.
245 The native culture began to break down. The trade cutter
178 almost completely replaced the sailing canoe, and during this period the large double war canoe disappeared. The art of pottery making by the Levuka women of Lakemba[38] fell into disuse as native clay pots were displaced by large imported metal ones. The technic of making fish hooks was lost, and imported paraphernalia such as lines, nets, and ropes were used instead of native products. Iron roofs appeared on the houses of the most prosperous natives, and even a few small metal tanks were used to catch the rain water from them.

[554] A factor of great significance in the decline of native material culture during this period was the social prestige attached to all imported articles. Everyone strove to buy as much as possible from the store, and the number of imported articles which a group possessed was limited only by its ability to pay the price in copra. Clothes, iron roofs, canned food, and metal tools all became the means by which a person might raise his status in the community.

● 464 At this time native labor was in great demand, especially
177 on copra plantations in many parts of Fiji, and large numbers of young men from the southern islands left their villages under contract to work for periods of a year or more. While away the young men came under greater western influence than had penetrated to the isolated southern islands, and when they returned they brought not only new goods and money but also new ideas. The loss of the young men of the village not only cut the available supply of labor but also upset the balance of sexes in the villages. It led to the post-

[161] ponement of the marriage age of the young people. In spite of this factor the population of Lau began to increase.

439 As in many parts of the South Seas, the period of prosperity
245 in Fiji ended abruptly with the slump in the price of copra
435 after the world war. Largely because of overproduction and

[38] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," op. cit.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Kambara tend to lose.[70] Kambara also loses through the inclination of her men for the sea. Southern Lauans make excellent sailors on trade and government cutters in Fiji, and more young men ship as sailors from Kambara than from any of the other islands studied. In regard to the sex ratio, all the islands show a disproportionately large number of females to males except Mothe and Ongea, which show a fairly balanced ratio (see Table 2). Tongan influence has been strong on all the islands under consideration and hence fails to explain the variation.

In seeking an explanation for the difference in rate of increase we find, however, that Fulanga and Namuka have several traits in common which are absent in the other three islands. The people of these two islands are outstanding in southern Lau for their zest for life, industriousness, and lack of self-pity. Both islands have poor anchorages and are disturbed less than the other islands by contact from the outside. Consequently the natives of these two islands are relatively conservative and maintain a stricter moral code. Finally, on these two islands, according to their genealogies, there are no clans belonging to the upper class. They are inhabited by clans belonging to the lower class. Hence they are easily administered and lack the intrigues and petty jealousies present among the nobles of the upper class. The Ongea clans also apparently belong to the lower class. However, at least two other important factors may have played a part in lowering the rate of increase on Ongea. There has been more inbreeding on Ongea, according to the genealogies, than on any of the other islands studied. Moreover, Ongea has the best anchorage in the group, and is visited not only by government cutters but also occasionally by yachts and naval craft.

Compared to Fulanga and Namuka, Kambara and Mothe

[70] These facts are based on a comparison of clan genealogies which were recorded for every island studied. For further details see "Marriage" in L. Thompson, *Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography*, op. cit.

13 19. KATAFANGA (or Katavanga) is a small island of limestone and volcanic material, lying 25 miles S.E. of Munia and 19 miles E.N.E. of Tuvatha'. (S. 17° 31', 178° 43' W.) It is 3/4 mile long and 800 yards wide on the north, tapering toward the south, and rises in two rounded hills to a height of 180 feet. The northern third of the island is densely wooded, rough upraised coral limestone; the southern two-thirds, rounded volcanic material, covered with grass and groves of cocoanut palms. The transition between the two is the most striking seen in Lau, as sharp as if cut by a knife. The southern portion is bordered by a broad beach of sand and slab sandstone.

The island is surrounded by a barrier reef thru which there is a passage on the north side which will admit small vessels drawing 10 feet or less. This passage is not the eastern one, generally indicated on charts, but the narrow one directly north of the N.E. point of the island. In it there are two or three coral heads, but with a favorable tide and commanding breeze small vessels may enter. A desirable
361 anchorage is to be had off the S.E. side of the island, opposite the owner's house, where landing is good.

423 The island is freehold property, owned by Mr. T.O.U.Stockwell, who
545 lives on the island and is engaged in producing copra. There is no
● 464 native population other than his six workmen. Water may be obtained
312 together with small supplies of yams, sweet potatoes, pigs, papayas, etc.
262 Bird and insect life abundant on this luxurient little island. The
13 usual lizards and land crabs present in some numbers.

13 25. MANGO is a moderately large limestone and volcanic island, 8 miles south of Kanathea, 20 miles W.N.W. of Tuvutha', and 17 miles N.N.E. of Thithia. (S.17° 27', 179° 09' W.). It is surrounded by a fringing reef, about 1/2 mile wide. On the north there is a wide gap in the reef, forming an excellent anchorage with the prevailing S. to E. winds. The island is nearly circular, 3 miles in diamtere, and reaches an elevation (Mt.Rider) on the south of 730 feet according to the owner (the Pilot Book, H.O.166, p.372, gives 670 feet). Two other high volcanic hills overlook the west coast, and there is one nearly as high in the north ridge.

This marginal ring of hills, partly volcanic and partly of upraised coral limestone, encloses a broad central basin which is at present 245 thickly planted to coconut palms. It was formally used for the [248] cultivation of sugar cane, and prior to that for raising cotton. The [249] old sugar mill still stands near the owners houses, toward the center 361 of the basin. From it a small tram line runs to the N.E.bay. 491

The island is owned by Mr. James Borron, and is managed by his son. There is no native population other than the workmen employed on the 423 plantation, which are mostly Indians. It is one of the most productive 469 and luxurient islands in Lau, and would be well worth an extended 162 biological survey. There is a dense forest among the limestone hills 13 on the N.E., hanging with tropical vines, and with lianas up to 15 inches in diameter. The volcanic hills are covered with the usual grass and scrub, and here and there are groves of Casuarina trees. A small lake, in the N.W.gap, supports a flock of wild ducks, and other bird life is abundant.

312 Water is abundant. A large stream drains the central basin, flowing N.E. to the nearly enclosed bay. There are also several small lakes and pools of fresh water.

245 At present about 500 tons of copra are produced annually. A herd

13 Sl. MUNIA is a small volcanic island, 2 1/4 miles long by 1500 yards wide, lying 3 1/2 miles E.by S. of Susui and 15 miles E.by N. of Mango. A high ridge traverses the island, reaching a height of 950 feet near the center. The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, which connects it with the south side of the barrier reef which surrounds the Exploring group. The island is entirely made up of volcanic material.

473 Munia is privately owned, by Mr. H.H. Steinmets, an Englishman, who
162 produces copra. His homestead is located on the S.E.side at a place
295 where there is a small bight in the reef. Here a pier has been built
361 out nearly to deep water. Anchorage here is fair, except when the
504 strong
13 wind is from the S.E.to N.E. A better anchorage may be found in the lee of the island. Good paths traverse the island and its slopes are
487 thickly planted with cocoanut palms. Water is fairly abundant, there
312 being several wells.

Mr. Steinmets has kept careful meteorological records for the
127 past 29 years (1924). A summary of his rainfall data is given in the introduction.

464 There is no native population on the island other than the workmen.
161 or
It formally possessed native inhabitants, however, and bones and ethno-
[172] logical objects have been dug up about the homestead.

[p.75]

13 56. MAITAUMBA is a trapezium-shape volcanic and limestone island, lying 15 miles N.W. of Vanua Mbalavu and 18 miles S.W.of Wailangilala. It is surrounded by a barrier reef which lies from 1/4 to 3/4 mile off shore. On the west the reef is reduced to a line of coral heads and patches. Here small boats may enter. Vessels may anchor, with an off shore wind, on a narrow shelf off this west side.

The island is 2 miles E.& W. by 1 1/2 miles N.& S. A central basin is surrounded by limestone and volcanic hills, the highest, on the S.E., reaching an elevation of 610 feet in a flat-topped volcanic peak rising with steep slopes. The limestone portions, especially on the N.E. and N.W. are densely wooded; the volcanic hills are covered with the usual grass, scrub and pandanus; and the basin contains an extensive grove of coconut palms.

423 The island is privately owned by Mr.G.M.Henning, who resides at a
361 homestead on the west side. Considerable copra is produced. Fresh
295 water is abundant, and small quantities of produce, turkeys, etc.,
312 might be obtainable at the homestead. Good trails traverse the island.
487 There is no native population other than the plantation workmen.
161
464

The MALIMA Islets, two small uninhabited islets lying 6 miles S.E.
13 of Maitaumba, were not visited. They are surrounded by a continuous circular barrier reef, about 2 miles in diameter, with a small boat passage on the north side. The larger islet reaches a height of 130 feet in a conspicuous lump on its S.W. end. The lagoon contains numerous rocks and coral heads.

[p.83]

13
[103] 40. VATU VARA' I. (or Hat island, because of its resemblence, in profile from the E. and W., to a slouch hat) lies 9 miles south of Yathata. (S.17° 26', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef with a small shallow lagoon on the west. This island is the highest in Lau, the bold central peak rising to a height of 1030 feet. The slopes of this peak rise percipitously to a flat, crater-like summit, where the [172] [712] ruins of a fortified village are located.

The island is sub-circular, about 1 1/4 miles in diameter, with a square point on the S.E. It is composed of upraised coral limestone, densely wooded, and with small groves of coconut palms in pockets around 423 the foot of the talis slopes, and on the beaches. It is privately owned 361 by the estate of the late Captain Wilson. The neat, substantial home- 245 stead is located on the west side. Copra is produced.

13 Landing may be made without difficulty on ~~the~~ a sand beach on the N. 502 side, thru a small break in the reef, marked by a beacon.

464 There are no inhabitants except the caretaker and a few workmen. 161 Water is not abundant, and but little cultivation is done. 312 241

[p.88]